

Letter from John Stuart Mill—His views of Reconstruction and Negro Suffrage.

The following letter from John Stuart Mill, addressed to a gentleman in Ohio, appears in the Cincinnati Commercial:

BLACKHATH PARK, KENT,
September 1, 1865.

DEAR SIR: I am sincerely obliged to you for giving me an opportunity of reading the letter of Gen. Cox, and your excellent paper in reply.

You ask me for an opinion. I should hesitate very long before obtruding upon any American, and still more upon the American public, any mere opinion of mine respecting their internal concerns. But it is the concern of mankind, almost as much as of the United States, that the conquests achieved by your great and arduous struggle should not be, in the very hour of victory, carelessly flung away; and the opinion which you do me the honor to ask, is one which I share with so many of the noblest and wisest Americans, that I need have the less scruple in expressing it.

It is certainly some gain to the negroes and to the principle of freed m, that they have been made even nominally free. I do not pretend that it is nothing that they can no longer legally be bought and sold. But this is about the amount of all they will have gained, if the power of legislation over them is handed over once more to their old masters, and to the mean whites by whom they are despised as much, and probably more, than even by their masters, and who have been fighting four years to retain them enslaved. If it were not for your State institutions, the case would not be so pressing; for those who have made them free could keep them so. But once the war-power laid down, and the regular course of State government restored, what is to prevent a State legislature, chosen by their enemies, from making laws under which, unless they resist by force, they will have as little the control of their own actions, as little protection for life, honor and property, will, in short, be, except in a few of the outward incidents of slavery, almost as much slaves as before? To bring this about it would not even be necessary to enact new laws. It would suffice to have the old ones unrepealed, by which the testimony of a negro cannot be received against a white. Nay, even were these laws abrogated, nothing more would be needed than partiality and prejudice in the white courts of justice. And would it be consistent with ordinary human nature that such partiality and prejudice should not exist? All this is so evident, that even the candidate, to whose letter you so ably replied, is quite aware of it, and can suggest no means of averting the evil, except what I agree with you in regarding as the chimerical project of affecting a local separation between the two races, excluding the negroes from the jurisdiction of the States, and giving them a territorial government apart. It is not to be believed that the President or Congress will entertain such a scheme as this seriously. If, then, they allow the Southern States to reorganize themselves and resume all their constitutional rights without negro suffrage, what is to be done? To abandon the negroes to the tender mercies of those from whom, at so terrible a cost, you have so lately rescued them? No party or set of men in the free States are so shameless as to propose this combined turpitude and imbecility. But the freedom of the negroes and the self-government of the Southern States, as at present constituted, cannot co-exist; and if it is determined that, come what will, the former shall be reality, it must be intended that the latter should be a mere pretence. A censorship will have to be exercised over all the acts, both legislative and administrative, of the State governments; the federal authorities will, by military coercion, prevent or set aside all proceedings calculated to interfere with that equality of civil rights to which they are bound by every consideration, both of duty and of interest, to secure to the freed race. And this military dictatorship will have to be continued for a great length of time; for it is speaking within bounds to say that two generations must elapse before the habits and feelings engendered by slavery give place to new ones—before the stain which the position of slave master burns into the very souls of the privileged population can be expected to fade out.

This is the state of things which the policy now apparently acted on by the federal government leads to; but I have too high an opinion of the intentions and feelings of the President, and the practical good sense and determination of the American people, to believe that such a policy will be persevered in. It would be nothing less than electing to rule tyrannically over the whole Southern population, in order to avoid depriving the white half of that population of the power of tyrannizing over the black half. Instead of restoring to the States lately in rebellion a nominal self-government, which, unless you are willing to sacrifice all that has been gained by four years of civil war, cannot be suffered to be real, would it not be better to make the self-government real, but to grant it only

to a mixed community, in which the population who have been corrupted by vicious institutions will be neutralized by black citizens and white emigrants from the North?

And what is the hindrance to this in the minds of the President and his Cabinet? Is it scruples about legality? To be scrupulous about exceeding his lawful powers well becomes the first magistrate of a free people. But in this case the scruple seems wholly out of place. We are told that the rebel States must be assumed never to have been out of the Union, and therefore to be unconditionally entitled to all their original liberties and powers the moment they condescend to accept them. Reason would say, on the contrary, that by declaring themselves independent of the Union they could not, indeed, divest themselves of its obligations, but certainly forfeited its privileges. A state of civil war suspends all legal rights and all social compacts between the combatants. Except under the terms of a capitulation, defeated rebels have no rights but the universal ones of humanity. The Southern people, their lives, bodies and estates, were, by the issue of the war, placed at the discretion of their conquerors; but of conquerors whom both the general law of right, and the special principles of their own social and political institutions, forbid to exercise permanent dominion over any human beings as subjects, or on any footing than that of equal citizenship.

It would, however, be on the part of the free States a generosity partaking of silliness were they to give back to their bitter enemies not only power to govern themselves and the negroes within their limits, but (through representatives in Congress) to govern the free States too, without first exacting such changes in the structure of Southern society as will render such a relation between them and the free States rational and safe. If you have not a right to do this, you had not the right to impose the abolition of slavery. Consider what an element you are going once more to admit into the supreme government of the Union. Think of this one thing—it is but one of many. Every Southern member of Congress elected without negro suffrage is a sure vote for that blackest and most disgraceful breach of faith, which would brand American democracy and popular government itself with a mark that would endure for generations—the repudiation of the war debt. The Southern representatives, in fact, would be the only members of Congress who could honestly vote for this; since, to their minds, unless the Confederate debt is recognized too, it would seem only equal justice—This is of itself a sufficient reason why no community, composed exclusively or principally of those who have been engaged in the rebellion, is fit to have a voice in Congress. Of course, the States have to be readmitted; to keep them out and govern them as subjects, would be in contradiction to all the principles of the American or any other free constitution. But the future history of America, perhaps for ages to come, depends (I cannot but think) upon your requiring them, before admission, to give guarantees to freedom, by admixture with fellow-citizens whose interests and feelings are in unison with justice, and with the principles of the free States. Migration from the North will do this in time, and in part, but only negro suffrage can do it sufficiently.

I have no objection to requiring, as a condition of the suffrage, education up to the point of reading and writing; but upon condition that this shall be required equally from the whites. The poor whites of the South are understood to need education quite as much as the negroes; and are certainly quite as unfit for the exercise of the suffrage without it. I am, dear sir, yours, very sincerely,
J. S. Mill.

Hon. Judge Dickson, &c.

Hard to Please.

The New York Daily News writes: "The working classes of the South are exposed more than those of this section at present are, to the pressure of negro competition. The quality of the two begins its assertion there, in a form more threatening to the white laborer than even in the case of the North. The progress of the struggle at the South may therefore be watched by the working classes here as a study of what is as yet, but in progress of development among themselves."

It is difficult to satisfy men who are determined to grumble. We have been confidently assured, at different times, by the Daily News and its friends, the malignant pro-slavery men, First, That the free negro will not work at all; but

Second, That he will work so much better than the white laborer, that the latter will be injured by the "pressure of negro competition."

Third, That the country will be ruined by the idleness of the free blacks; but

Fourth, That the negroes are to eager for work as to leave none for white workmen.

Fifth, That the negroes are a curse to the country; but

Sixth, That the slave system, which made negro-breeding a regular and profitable business, and thus increased their numbers at an abnormal rate, was a divine institution and a blessing to the land.

Seventh, That the negro is naturally an abject coward; but

Eighth, That he is a most dangerous creature, capable of rising and murdering a community double his numbers and with a hundred times his strength in arms and all preparations for defense.

Ninth, That the negro can only live in a warm climate, like that of the Southern States; and

Tenth, That now he is set free there, he will immediately rush North, and take the bread out of the mouths of the white workmen here.

Eleventh, That white men cannot work in the Southern fields, which can be cultivated only by negroes; but

Twelfth, That the negroes ought all to be colonized in Africa, or driven off to some remote corner of this continent.

Thirteenth, That the freedmen are so stupid and ignorant as to be dangerous to the republic; but

Fourteenth, That they ought not to be instructed or permitted to acquire knowledge.

Fifteenth, That it would be a curse to Northern workmen to have the negroes flock into these States; but

Sixteenth, That Northern workmen ought not to favor a policy which would make the negroes contented to remain in the South.

Seventeenth, That the workmen of the Northern States are the most intelligent, the most capable, the most industrious and the most virtuous in the world; but

Eighteenth, That they will inevitably be ruined and driven of work by the competition of ignorant and idle negroes.

Nineteenth, That the presence of the blacks amongst us will always be a source of difficulty and trouble; but

Twentieth, That the Emancipation act is wrong, chiefly because, under its operation, the negro race is likely to die out, like the Indians.

These are some of the curious contradictions into which men fall who ignore all general principles, and follow only the will-o'-the-wisp of their prejudices. It is not only in relation to the negro question that they are thus blinded—their folly extends to other affairs. For instance, they assert very earnestly that a merchant ought to be free to sell his goods wherever he wants; but they will not have a laborer sell his labor as freely, though that labor creates the goods. They insist that we shall buy cotton in the cheapest market, but not labor. They laugh at the absurdities and crudities of "protective legislation," and yet cry out that white workmen must suffer, unless protected against "the pressure of negro competition."

We welcome immigration from abroad, at the same time that they try to persuade workmen here that the labor market is already overstocked.

These are the same men who, before the war, declared the negro a beast, a monkey, possessed of every vile quality, and a terrible danger to the community, and yet urged the reopening of the African slave trade.—N. Y. Evening Post.

The Freedman's Catechism.

Gen. Fisk, of the Freedmen's Bureau, recently attended and addressed a meeting of the people of Williamson and Maury counties, in Tennessee, which was largely composed of freedmen. After his address the following conversation took place:

Q. If a man is hired and does not work faithfully and honestly, what shall we do?

A. Reduce his wages or discharge him. I know a man who became lazy, and only picked fifty pounds of cotton in a day. The other hands complained of him, and insisted that he should be docked in his wages. The next day, seeing what was coming, he picked 200 pounds.

Q. But suppose a man refuses to work altogether?

A. Treat him precisely as you would a white employee in similar circumstances.

Q. Suppose the children of the freedmen behave badly, what shall be done with them?

A. Let them be flogged. "He that spareth the rod spoilth the child."

Q. Shall we do it if the parents do not?

A. By no means. I wouldn't want anybody to flog my child. Do in this matter just as you would if the parents and children were white.

If parents will not correct their children, get rid of them, and employ those who will.

Q. If I hire a lot of laborers, make a written contract with them, and it is approved by your agent, and when the time comes for the men to begin the work they hire to some one who can, what will you do?

A. I will compel the laborers to fulfil their contract strictly, and compel you to fulfil yours.

Q. If I work for a man, and he agrees to give me a third of the crop, and then when the crop is made he refuses to give me the third, what shall I do?

A. Report the case to the nearest agent of the Bureau, and he will see that the man performs his contract.

Q. If a man hires us and we make a crop, and then he sells it to another and runs off, who are we to look to for our wages?

A. You have a lien on the crop itself, that must pay you every dollar due.

Q. If they burn down our school houses, what is to be done?

A. They must rebuild them; and more than that, Gen. Thomas will send a guard of colored soldiers into all such localities. But I hope that will never be necessary here.

Q. A ple woman rises in the audience, and with deep emotion says: I have lived on Z's farm all my life. He has used me as his wife. I have had five children, all of which are his, and now he is married, and wants to drive me and his children out of house and home. Is that right?

A. Where is Z? (Z arose and made a bad defence, and the case becoming too exciting, was referred for adjudication to a court. The man did not dare to deny the soft impeachment, and will be required, no doubt, to take care of his children.)

The General made some amusing remarks in relation to refugees and negroes in general; said he had far more trouble to get the refugees to work than the negroes, and related an anecdote of old Nero that is too good to lose. Meeting Nero in town with a load of millet, the General remarked: "How much of the crop do you get for your labor?" "One-third, sah," answered Nero. "And how much is one-third Nero?" "Why, I takes two loaves and leaves Massa Gynson one!" So ended the freedman's catechism.

The Union Press of Louisville, informs us that Kentucky courts have indicted Major Gen. Palmer and Brig. Gen. Briston for abducting slaves. The Press suggests that the President should also be indicted; then, too, we suppose, the Supreme Judiciary and Congress, all in single file; and finally, the negro, for abducting himself. President Johnson must apply to the Kentucky Pardon Bureau if he remains unforgiven. This restoration in Southern sentiment is remarkable.

Scene in a Freedman's Court.

We find the following narration in the Nashville correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette, showing that it is very difficult for the white men of Tennessee to learn that colored men have rights which they are bound to respect, and that they are receiving lessons from courts of justice established by Gen. Fisk, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, of a very emphatic description. The one quoted occurred the other day, and is both amusing and instructive:

"An old and highly respected citizen of Giles county, named Abernethy—a good Methodist, by the way—refused to pay his colored laborers the wages he had agreed to pay them, and as a last resort, two of the most intelligent of his employees came into the Freedmen's Court, made oath to the contract and to the fact of non-payment, and an order was accordingly issued to bring the venerable patriarch into court to answer. When the order reached the old gentleman he was astonished beyond measure, and, doubtless would not have deigned to respond to it had not a guard been present to enforce it—His neighbors, of course, were greatly excited. The venerable old Abernethy arrested and ordered to report forthwith at Nashville! Dispatches were sent to the city, and when he arrived he was met at the depot and escorted to Gen. Fisk's headquarters by a respectable body of citizens, whose faces bespoke countenance indicated the deep disgust and horror which welled their chivalrous bosoms. Arrived at headquarters—

Abernethy—Is this Gen. Fisk?

A. Yes, sir.

A. I should like to know what I am brought here for?

G. N.—Very well, give me your name, and I can probably inform you.

A.—My name is Abernethy, sir.

Gen.—Abernethy. Yes, I remember. The citizens of Giles county, neighbors of yours. Mr. A. have appeared and made oath to a very grave complaint against you.

A.—Citizens of Giles county! Neighbors of mine!! Good heavens who can it be.

"I will read the declaration," said the General, as he took the document from a pigeon hole, and began: "Joseph and Paul Abernethy, of the county of Giles, in the State of Tennessee, being duly sworn, do testify, etc. etc. As the reading proceeded the old gentleman's eyes fairly bulged out, and he looked the very picture of amazement. At length, unable to restrain himself any longer, he exclaimed, 'Lord! bless my soul, General, them ain't my neighbors, them's my niggers.'"

"You are mistaken, Mr. A., replied the General, 'there are no such persons in Tennessee now, as 'your niggers.' Joseph and Paul Abernethy are citizens of Tennessee, and one of them claims even a nearer relation to you; and the striking resemblance he bears to you gives countenance to the claim."

This house thrust out the old man to the heart, and he covered his face with his hands, bowing his head for some time. At length he said: "Well, General, what are you going to do about it?" "I am going to do justice," he replied—

"Do you owe these men the amount they claim? If you do, you must pay it."

The old gentleman came down at once, acknowledging the debt, and promised to call and settle it the next day. The next day he came, paid the debt in full, and entered into a written contract with his employees for the future."

Freedmen in Alabama—Official Regulations.

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT COM., BUREAU OF Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands.

Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 30.

General Order, No. 12.

I. All contracts with freedmen for labor, for the period of one month and over, must be reduced to writing, approved by an agent of this Bureau, and one copy deposited with him. In proper cases he shall require security.

II. For plantation labor:

1. Such contracts will be made with heads of families. They will embrace the labor of all the members of the family to work.

2. The employer will stipulate to provide good and sufficient food, quarters and medical attendance for the entire family, and such further compensation as may be agreed on.

3. Such contracts will be a lien upon the crop, of which not more than one-half will be removed until full payment is made, and the contract released by an agent of this Bureau, or a Justice of the Peace, in case it is impracticable to procure the services of such agent.

III. The usual remedies for violation of contracts to the employer, of forfeiture of wages due, and to the freedom, of damage secured by lien, or personal security, are deemed to be sufficient and all that are practicable.

IV. But as many persons have not yet learned the binding force of a contract, and that freedom does not mean living without labor, it is further ordered, that where any employer, under this order, shall make oath before a Justice of the Peace, acting as an agent of this Bureau, and having local jurisdiction, that one of his employees has been absent from labor without good cause for a longer period than one day, or for an aggregate of time greater than three days in one month, the Justice shall proceed against such a person as a vagrant.

V. Freedmen committed as vagrants may be set to work on roads, or at other labor, by the county or municipal authorities which provide their support, or they may be turned over to an agent of this Bureau.

VI. No contract will be approved which does not expire on or before the first day of January 1867.

WAGER SWAYNE,
Brig. Gen. and Asst. Commissioner.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
Montgomery, Ala., Sept. 1.

The foregoing Order is approved and will be recognized by all judicial and ministerial officers in this State, in their

administration of justice as Agent of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands.

LEWIS E. PARSONS,
Provisional Governor of Alabama.

By the Governor:
W. GARRETT, Secretary of State.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF ALABAMA,
Mobile, Ala., Sept. 4.

The foregoing Order is approved and will be enforced by the military authorities in this Department, in the absence of, or in support of, the parties charged with its execution.

By order of Maj. Gen. C. R. Woods.
W. B. Woods,
Brig. Gen. and Chief of Staff.

A North Carolinian on the Great Question.

The following communication comes to the New York Evening Post from a citizen of North Carolina, who lived in that State during the rebellion, and has just arrived in this city. He expresses the thoughts, we may suppose, of a considerable number of persons in the South; and we print this communication, not because we agree with him, or approve of all he says, but because we think any expression of the feelings, wishes and aims of Southern men, honest or dishonest, is valuable at this time:

"The opinion seems to be gaining ground that the negro will be allowed to vote with the whites, and as a consequence, many officers now elected by the people, such as governors, sheriffs, judges, &c., will hereafter be chosen by the whites, or by the magistracy, or by the appointive of the governors or judges. The Southerners at the idea that the black man is as good as the white man; but that question does not necessarily arise in a discussion respecting political privileges. If reason and justice are hearkened to, instead of prejudice and passion, the negro will be allowed to vote; and there is little reason to fear that our elections will result in the choice of as good and as wise men as here before.

"A large number of voters everywhere act, not from their own knowledge or on their own opinions, but by the advice and though the influence of a few men in whom they confide; and I do not doubt that the negro would be elected as safe and prudent counsellors as most voters, and cast as good votes. This is the true republican doctrine; it is in accordance with the spirit of our institutions, and I do not distrust them. If the boiler will not bear the pressure, let it burst."

"Thirty years ago negroes voted in North Carolina on the same terms as white men; and when they were disfranchised, the venerable Nelson, whom Chief Justice Marshall pronounced the wisest and purest man he ever knew, protested against it as unjust and unjust."

"Texas, when she gained her independence, admitted the Mexican people, emancipated by that event, to the full rights of citizenship, and has never had cause to repent of her justice and liberality; and no man acquainted with the two races will consider them superior to the negroes of the South in intelligence and civilization."

To reach the colored people of the State, business men would do well to advertise in the Journal of Freedom.

Lady's Own Store,

T. R. FENTRESS' OLD STAND,

No. 15 Fayetteville Street,

RALEIGH, N. C.

MESSES. BOWEN & RANDALL, AT THE ABOVE

named place, announce to the public that they have just received the

LARGEST CHEAPEST

BEST SELECTED

STOCK OF DRY GOODS

ever offered to retail traders in the city of Raleigh, consisting of

DRY GOODS,

LADIES DRESS GOODS,

READY MADE CLOTHING,

HATS AND CAPS,

BOOTS AND SHOES,

&c. &c. &c. &c. &c.

including everything that a LADY can wish for, from TOILET ARTICLES up to a SILK DRESS.

These goods were purchased during the recent fall prices in Northern markets and consequently will be sold cheap.

They were selected with special reference to the Fall and Winter trade of this section.

Servants or children sent to the store with orders will receive the fairest treatment.

COME ONE! COME ALL!

SEE FOR YOURSELVES

It Costs Nothing to Look at OUR

Stock.

POLITE AND ATTENTIVE CLERKS ARE

ALWAYS ON HAND TO WAIT ON

SEPTEMBER CUSTOMERS.

Brooks & Crane.

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